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ABSTRACT

Four articles on school desegregation are collected in this booklet. "State Leadership In School Desegregation" offers advice on how States can accomplish desegregation and high quality education. "A Policy Statement On Urban School Desegregation" advocates State standards of equality, equity, and excellence in order to shift the emphasis from desegregation to improvement in learning. "State and Local Responsibility for Promoting Learning Environments of Equity and Equality: A Conceptual Analysis" presents a conceptual framework for allocating responsibility for desegregation between State and local government. "The Case for Metropolitan Approaches to Public School Desegregation" stresses the important role of the State government in making possible the transition to metropolitan school desegregation. (Author/WI)

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School Desegregation and the State Government

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A series of articles collected by the National Project and Task Force on Desegregation Strategies

February 1979

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TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

FOREWORD

The four articles collected here include a range of perspectives from theoretical to practical. The contributors include both scholars and practitioners. The viewpoints expressed extend from that of Thomas Pettigrew, who advocates metropolitan desegregation, to that of John Porter, who urges improvement in learning as a first priority, with desegregation as a hoped for consequence.

All of us who have participated in the 25-year endeavor since Brown have experienced the frustration of hearing tired arguments espoused to match equally tired arguments on the other side. This volume, in my opinion, breathes fresh air into the desegregation dialogue.

Although each of the four contributors comes to the issue of desegregation with a different orientation, all four agree on one thing: the importance of the state role. Greg Anrig, the Commissioner of Education for Massachusetts, the state which has taken the most active leadership role in desegregation, offers practical advice on what states can do to further desegregation and high quality integrated education; John Porter, Superintendent of Public Instruction for Michigan, advocates state standards of "equality, equity and excellence" to shift the emphasis from desegregation to improvement in learning; Charles Willie presents a conceptual framework for allocating responsibility for desegregation between state and local government, and Thomas Pettigrew stresses the important role of state government in making possible the transition to metropolitan school desegregation. I hope that you will find this volume as stimulating and full of new ideas as I have.

I wish to offer a word of thanks and appreciation to the staff,

Denise Green, Project Services Coordinator and Sherry Atencio, Project Secretary, for their assistance, and particularly to Mary Rashman, Research Associate, who edited this volume.

Ben Williams
Director
National Project and
Task Force on Desegregation
Strategies

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STATE LEADERSHIP IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Gregory R. Anrig*

It isn't easy. It isn't popular. There is little company out on the end of the political limb. But nothing in the Constitution says that the right to equal treatment under law depends on group consensus.

We need to remind ourselves of this regarding school desegregation. We need to remind ourselves that the one public institution that touches, at some point, every family in our democracy is the public school. And we need to remind ourselves that regardless of the lack of racial justice in housing and employment, American democracy cannot tolerate discrimination in its public schools if we are to honor our traditions as a country.

It is this train of thought which leads to the obligation for state leadership in school desegregation. If public education is constitutionally a state responsibility --- and it is --- then this leadership must be provided even in face of the opposition school desegregation generates at all levels of government.

How does this leadership take form? First and foremost, there is a need to answer the question "Where do you stand?" I believe it is important that responsible state bodies make clear their position on school desegregation. Whether by statute, regulation or policy, it should be established that racial segregation in public schools is wrong legally and educationally.

*Gregory R. Anrig is Commissioner of Education for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and a member of the National Task Force on Desegregation Strategies. This article was first printed in the Fall 1978 issue of Progress, a publication of the National Project and Task Force on Desegregation Strategies.

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The clearer this can be said, the better, for there are always those who will use loopholes or catch-phrases to absolve themselves of responsibility to act or around which to organize opposition.

Second, there needs to be some sanction which can be imposed after appropriate due process establishes a violation. Equally important, there has to be the courage to exercise that sanction. In Massachusetts, which has a Racial Imbalance Act on the statute books, the State Board of Education has exercised school desegregation sanctions in a variety of ways --- termination of state education aid, denial of school construction approval, initiation of adjudicatory hearings followed by a State Board Order, and intervention through state court action.

Third, there needs to be a technical assistance capacity. The Bureau of Equal Educational Opportunity in the Massachusetts Department of Education has 12 staff members and reports directly to the Commissioner. It has demonstrated the capacity to analyze school district desegregation proposals and, where necessary, to develop a comprehensive desegregation plan. In Springfield, Massachusetts, based on Bureau analysis the State Board adopted as its own and ordered a desegregation plan developed by the Springfield Superintendent of Schools. In Boston, Massachusetts, the Phase I student assignment plan incorporated in 1974 orders of Federal District Court Judge W. Arthur Garrity, Jr. was developed totally by the Bureau through adjudicatory proceedings subsequently affirmed by the State Supreme Judicial Court.

Fourth, there is a need for financial incentives. The Massachusetts Legislature has enacted legislation which provides for desegregation assistance in the form of 100% reimbursement of related transportation costs and 75% of the cost of constructing new schools as part of a racial balance plan approved

by the State Board of Education. In Fiscal Year 1978, this special state aid totalled $8.3 million. In addition, the Legislature appropriated $3 million for magnet education programs and schools, $6 million for educational improvement projects in schools receiving students as part of a desegregation plan, and $6.3 million for a voluntary program called METCO under which 3,150 black children from Boston and Springfield attend school full-time in neighboring suburban districts. As significant as this special state aid has been, however, it is important to note that financial incentives only work when supplementing a required desegregation plan. Financial incentives alone have yet to achieve significant school desegregation on a voluntary basis anywhere in the country.

Fifth, there is a need to promote the educational value of urban children and children in suburban school districts having mutual opportunities to know and learn with children of another race or background. This commitment has been nurtured since 1965 by the METCO program in 40 participating suburban communities. An additional 3700 urban and suburban children participate voluntarily in state-supported magnet educational programs on a part-time basis at business, governmental and cultural institutions in the Boston metropolitan area. The "magnet" is the educational attractiveness of the programs but the result is a racially integrated learning opportunity.

Sixth, there is a need for state action and assistance with budding problems of racial or ethnic imbalance in public schools. At the present time, 9 cities in Massachusetts are using state-aided magnet education programs or magnet schools to correct impending racial or ethnic enrollment imbalance within their school districts. These initiatives are paying off in enrollment trends and, hopefully, will avoid the need for more dramatic desegregation

action and the need for court or state intervention.

And seventh, there is a need to promote quality integrated education once desegregation has been accomplished. In Boston, for instance, the state supports 28 university/school pairings aimed at using higher education resources to improve school programs. 47 projects linking schools and cultural institutions were supported in 1977-78 and more than two dozen business and industrial firms were assisted in the promotion of business/school partnerships. Particular state assistance and financial aid have been given to the improvement of vocational, special and bilingual education programs in desegregated school districts to be sure those students receive high priority both in attention and educational opportunities. The process of desegregation is but the beginning of what should be a process of educational improvement for black and white children alike. To be satisfied simply with nondiscriminatory student assignments is to miss the true meaning of equal educational opportunity.

This kind of state leadership can bring results. In 1970, 30% of the black students in Massachusetts attended schools with more than 80% black enrollment; by 1977 this proportion had been reduced to less than 2%. The number of schools with 80% or more black enrollment was reduced from 42 to 5. During that same period the number of black students in the state increased by 10,000. Clearly state action, assistance and incentives have had an effect.

I began by saying it isn't easy. I don't want the reader to feel it has been easy in Massachusetts, despite the progress made. The State's Racial Imbalance Act had its teeth removed during the 1974 gubernatorial election campaign. Bills have been introduced to elect the appointed State Board of Education and Commissioner of Education. What used to be

annual hearings in the State House auditorium overflowed with busing opponents calling for repeal of the Racial Imbalance Act. Threats were made to State Board members' families and demonstrations were held at the Commissioner's home. Pressures were exerted in the appropriation process. Mass protest meetings and political demagoguery have been common occurrences. The violence which greeted school desegregation in Boston sparks televised memories which were real to those affected by them.

Through it all, however, there have been leaders at the state level willing to stand up to their constitutional obligations --- governors, legislators, judges, State Board of Education members, attorneys general, and education commissioners. It is not easy, but it is possible. If public education is a state responsibility, the obligation for state leadership in school desegregation is clear both now and in the future.

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A POLICY STATEMENT ON URBAN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION*

John W. Porter**

In many respects we have reached the stage of development where the urgings for major urban school desegregation can be counter-productive to urgings for increased dollars to improve the basic skills. Ironically enough, it took blacks nearly a hundred years to move from a condition of group slavery to individual freedom (1857-1954). It's taken less than 25 years to move from a recognition of past discrimination to a debate of competition on an equal basis. The long range implications of these changing views need to be carefully studied as metropolitan centers become increasingly black.

In 1954, there were few, if any, minorities in influential positions to promote a new form of equality, equity, and excellence as a replacement of the old schooling system of screening, sorting, and selecting.

In 1979, educated blacks, Latinos and Indians in school positions will, for economic reasons, be less inclined to promote a system of urban desegregation which fails to have established specifications which assure quality education. Among these economic reasons are the "last hired, first fired" phenomenon, declining enrollments and accelerating costs.

These recent events have led to a significant change in societal perspective. Probably the single most significant change in public education in the past quarter of a century (1953-1978) is the societal perception that formal education is now a means to an end rather than an end in and of itself.

*This paper was prepared for discussion by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences study group on urban school desegregation. It will appear in revised form in a forthcoming publication reporting on the work of the study group.

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The implications of this changed perception or point of view also have tremendous and far reaching implications for urban school desegregation proposals.

Four separate societal movements in the past twenty-five years have brought this about:

First, the technological changes since 1950 have brought into being television, commercial jet airlines, computers, credit cards, shopping malls, "Holiday Inn's," transistors, frozen food processing, freeways, and even "McDonald's." These changes have increased the awareness of the "have-nots" of the so-called "good life" of an integrated America. The ability to acquire and use these new conveniences has become the nation's number one preoccupation.

Second, the educational changes since 1950 have witnessed Brown v. Topeka in 1954, the Elementary and Secondary Act in 1965, Collective Bargaining for Teachers in 1966, and Educational Accountability in 1970. Each of these four major educational changes has made it more possible for blacks and other minorities to gain access to leadership positions in education, and forge new directions toward equality, equity, and excellence. There will be a growing reluctance to abandon these gains in the name of urban desegregation.

Third, the social changes have, since 1950, set goals for equality for minorities, equity for women, and a free education for the handicapped. It is not likely that such momentous decisions can be made in the social field without a direct impact on the economic and educational fields. To date there have been few fundamental changes in society to adjust to these new conditions, such as reduced work weeks or income controls. The assumption that those who own the property will bear the children still dictates the fundamental means of school support even though the assumption is no longer valid.

Fourth, the population changes which have taken place since 1950 are now moving in a different direction and have enormous consequences for the educational system. When the population was basically regionalized, the schools could screen, sort, and select; the schools were also relatively inexpensive, and it was reasonable that they run only 10 months to allow time to work the farms. Moreover, the "have-nots" were not actively participating pre-1950. These four premises no longer exist, and as a result the public schools have been placed in a untenable situation.

Given these changing circumstances within the period since Brown v. Topeka, the nation needs to address the issue of urban desegregation based upon a new set of principles.

There are three principles which, in my opinion, must be accepted if we are to intelligently address the issue of urban school desegregation:

First, there is currently a direct relationship between academically low predominately black schools, school segregation, and young adult unemployment.

Second, there are no present incentives for middle-class college oriented whites to voluntarily enroll their children in predominately black schools.

Third, because of white-flight and social class-flight there is no present means to provide heterogeneous schooling arrangements, unless the federal government agressively addresses housing patterns.

A review of the historical development since the middle 1850's places the issues in even a better perspective. It has taken a Civil War and three Constitutional Amendments between 1857 and 1954 to establish black slaves as legally equal human beings and, thereby, American citizens.[1]

The Dred Scott case in 1857, legally known as Scott v. Sandford, involved

the freedom of a slave. The Supreme Court ruled that no Negro could be a citizen under the Constitution. Thus, by using classification by race---by group membership---the court contributed to an emphasis on group identity. What has happed in recent years is a shift in attitude toward the appropriate use of the rights of the individual, e.g., the Bakke case. However, because of the two centuries of enforced group classification, and the deprivation that had to be overcome by the group as a whole, blacks are suspicious of present efforts to desegregate blacks which make them into a minority in white suburbs and to de-emphasize group identities.

These feelings are further reinforced by the shift in U.S. policy after the short period of reconstruction, in which the conditions of slavery were reinstituted under the label of segregation.

In Plessy v. Ferguson, 1898, the Supreme Court spoke again in a second major decision, declaring the new law of the land separate but equal.

To put the issues of the present in proper perspective, it is well to also be reminded of the essence of this decision. The Court said,

> The object of the (Fourteenth) amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but in the nature of things it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color or to enforce social, as distinghished from political equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either. Laws permitting, and even requiring their separation in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other, and have been generally, if not universally, recognized as within the competency of the state legislatures in the exercise of their police power. The most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children, which has been held to be a valid exercise of the legislative power even by courts of states where the political rights of the colored race have been longest and most earnestly enforced....

It was not until Brown v. Topeka, in 1954, the third of the significant cases, which established the status of black Americans, that the next fundamental change in the relations between the races was made.[2]

According to Archibald Cox,

> The Brown decision restated the spirit of America and provided a beacon of hope for black men at a time when other governmental voices had nothing to offer.
>
> The result can only be described as a revolution in constitutional law. State laws enforcing a caste system which segregated black from white from birth through burial were invalidated, and enforcement gradually stopped...New federal statutes were enacted in order to deal with acts and practices depriving black citizens of the right to vote and to secure for them equal treatment in places of public accomodation, equal employment opportunities, and equal access to housing. Constitutional law changed and grew in order to sustain the new federal laws.

But the Brown decision did more. It placed an emphasis on education that had not emanated from a national branch of government.[3] The Court noted that,

> Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

> We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.

In this decision, the Court confined its ruling to the constitutional principle involved and did not address the issue of remedies. The following year, the Court began the twenty year struggle to find those remedies.

It was not until 20 years later, after the dismantling of the dual systems of education, that the Court spoke on the issue of remedy in a different way.

In the aftermath of the Supreme Court's 1974 decision [in Milliken v. Bradley, 418 U.S. 717, ed.], which limited urban-suburban busing, but required state support of educational components, integration advocates in many instances have had to confine their demands for busing to individual school districts. In our largest cities, this is not a solution likely to satisfy anyone for very long. "Success" in most big cities will mean a school system in which nearly every school is predominately non-white, and from which white pupils continue to leave every year. Unless "white-flight" is stopped or reversed, racial balancing within big cities will very likely produce the phenomenon of black cities and white suburbs that Coleman has warned about.[4]

The inadequacy of racial balancing within big city school districts is likely to generate new pressures for metropolitan area school integration. This is a proposal long favored by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, and civil rights groups, and it is already in effect in several smaller cities and counties. How such a proposal might be implemented in a city school

district with a quarter-million, a half-million, or a million pupils is uncertain, as are the educational implications. What is predictable, however, is the political reaction.

To date, no metropolitan region has voluntarily adopted a full city suburban merger for school integration, and opposition can be anticipated from suburban districts (whose residents include many who fled the city schools), state legislatures (where urban interests are a minority), and Congress (which regularly passes ineffective busing curbs). Nothing less than a reversal of the Supreme Court's 1974 Detroit decision could produce the enforcement mechanism to impose metropolitan area integration on a large scale. For now, at least, that is not in the offing.

But if racial balancing is of limited practicality because of the diminishing number of white pupils in most big cities, and if metropolitan cross-busing is of limited applicability because of the Supreme Court's 1974 ruling, what then? Few urban districts have had the capacity to look or plan beyond the latest political or fiscal crisis, but clearly some fresh synthesis is needed to restore a sense of direction to urban education. Focus on improving the basic skills may become the battle cry in an attempt to restore a degree of credibility.

There is no question that one of the most striking embarrassments and failures of American society is to be found when we consider how the two great races of our society are distributed between city and suburb.

It seems that we should plump for urban school desegregation and begin with the painfully learned truism that school integration requires residential desegregation.

There are three major explanations for the patterns of residential

segregation:

First is socio-economic --- blacks who are on the average poorer than whites, with a household income about 3/5 that of whites, simply can't afford to live in many neighborhoods, and therefore must be concentrated in poorer inner-city areas.

Second is racial discrimination --- owners of rental housing, real estate agents, developers of individual home tracts, and individual owners all discriminate, maintaining areas as all-white, or, if blacks do begin to move in, by their actions rapidly turning it into an all black area.

Third is individual preference --- most groups...races and ethnic groups ... prefer to live among friends and acquaintances. While this may look like and have the same effects as prejudice, some would argue it is really different. For one thing, it may affect blacks as well as whites. For another, it affects how groups among whites make decisions on housing...the decision may not be, for example, to select a white neighborhood, but one that is Jewish, or one that has Catholic institutions.

It can be suspected that the problem that has balked and divided the nation is that, in addressing the problems of educating children and desegregating schools, we assume that we cannot control or affect the population around schools. Within limits we think we can move children from one school to another, but we think ourselves powerless about the populations of cities and metropolitan areas. As these populations increasingly become segregated, the argument settles down to a contest of dogma against pragmatism. School children are the pawns either way, so the argument infuriates those whom it does not humiliate.

Residential segregation is, however, more firmly rooted in the American

tradition than is even the public school, for Americans tend to move by choice even if the schools are desegregated.

One supposes generally that when the government has done within ten or fifteen years of the Housing Act of 1949, it can undo. The 1977 report of the Civil Rights Commission puts the matter like this:

> "Because of the extensive nature of its involvement in housing and community development, the Federal Government has been the single most influential entity shaping urban growth in America. It, therefore, has also been most influential in creating and maintaining urban residential segregation."

The subsidy, mortgage guarantee, highway, and community facility programs created the suburbs in their present shape and style. Earlier, more than later, the programs were even administered in a manner that tended to foster segregation. A recent national survey for HUD finds that real estate transactions are still overwhelmingly marked by some form of racial discrimination.

Approaching the 25th anniversary of Brown vs. Topeka, the major concern of integration proponents must be the tremendous number of minority children who have not been touched by that decision's promise of "equal educational opportunity."

Compounding this controversy is the review of studies which suggest that many minority students attending desegregated schools have not experienced educational gain as would have been expected. For those who believe that the values of school desegregation are not dependent on achievement test scores, there is basis for despair in the unarguable statistics indicating that more than one-half of the country's minority children live in the largest twenty to thirty school districts, and that these districts tend to be majority non-white and low in student achievement.[5]

The cost benefit of improving the basic skills for minority children in specialized settings with uniquely prepared staffs vs. desegregating students into schools where teachers have not been properly trained offers a unique new challenge to the entire nation.

New incentives, such as those offered by James Coleman, are needed to make compatible these conflicting goals.[6]

1. Magnet Schools and Other Increases in School Attractiveness

One general class of incentive schemes which are not usually seen as such is the creation of magnet schools, which have some special characteristic that others do not have, sometimes including extra funds, sometimes not.

2. Incentives for School Districts or Schools

Another kind of incentive that has been used to facilitate transfers across school district lines is a financial incentive to the sending district and one to the receiving district. This is an incentive which is in use in Wisconsin for cross-district transfers. In practice, it is used primarily for black students transferring from Milwaukee to suburban school districts. In this case, both the Milwaukee district and the suburban district receive a payment from the state for the child who is transferring.

3. Incentives to Schools in Conjunction with Voucher Plans

Voucher plans, in which a child brings a voucher to the school he chooses to attend, can be accompanied by incentives of various sorts. One that has been suggested is to have the voucher from a child who is in a minority in the school redeemable by the school for a greater amount of money than the voucher provided by a child who is in the majority in the school. This would create an incentive for the principal (and for the teachers, if they participate in the extra benefits) to have a school that is

racially heterogeneous, since it provides the school with greater school resources.

4. Financial Incentives to Children or Parents for Attending Integrated Schools

Perhaps the most interesting and boldest approach to the use of incentives for integration is a proposal that has been made by a Cincinnati school board member, John Rue. Mr. Rue has proposed that the families of children who attend integrated schools receive a payment. The rationale is that the benefits of integration accrue primarily to the society as a whole rather than to the individual student (e.g., in the form of increased social cohesion).

Consequently, the society at large rather than the children and their families should pay the costs of integration. Since many families, black and white, perceive that integration imposes special social, psychic or academic costs upon their children, the society should compensate them.

Coleman's incentive schemes are not exhaustive. If one accepts either the philosophic principle that integration beyond that associated with residence should not be coerced, or the empirical evidence that when it is coerced it eludes the policy-maker's grasp by eroding through loss of whites, as well as some blacks, then the obvious direction to look is toward some kind of incentive. The most direct incentive is an incentive to children and parents; but incentives to schools and to school districts can overcome other obstacles to urban school integration as well.

Given the cost benefits of achieving the basic skills of all children or metropolitan school desegregation, a common set of standards must emerge that will focus discussions on the critical issues to be addressed. If we consider the fact that for $2,000 a student, at 25 students in a class,

a sum of $50,000 is generated, and if we assume the median salary of a teacher is only $20,000, we must ask how best to utilize the remaining $30,000.

I would propose that state requirements be established for all schools in this new era of equality, equity, and excellence. I personally believe there are ten requirements which need to emerge in order to address the two-fold challenge:

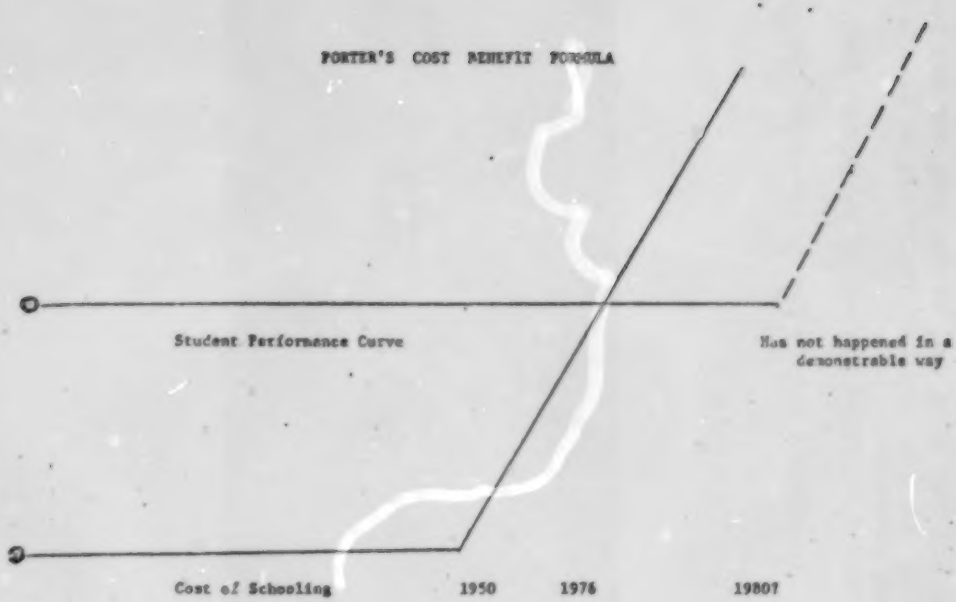
1. Schools should be required to set forth written student expectations.
2. Schools should request by invitation that parents attend an opening convocation in the fall.
3. Schools should conduct a student needs assessment.
4. Schools should prepare an Individualized Education Plan on each student.
5. Schools should show a relationship between expectations, textbooks, tests, and report cards.
6. Schools should engage in retraining staffs.
7. Schools should make it necessary for parents to pick up report cards quarterly and send a report home every three weeks.
8. Schools should offer parents, on a free and voluntary basis, an opportunity for their children who do not reach acceptable levels at the end of June a chance to attend a summer enrichment program.
9. Schools should report to the public on success and failure of the school year endeavors.
10. Schools should submit recommendations for improvement.

In conclusion, the overriding direction of a majority of the proponents of urban school desegregation seems to rest with a major emphasis on establishing means by which voluntary metropolitan desegregation can emerge with little emphasis on substantially and demonstratively improving student

learning and preformance within the de facto segregated school setting.

Taking such a position may very well become counterproductive, given the evidence of the past and the social milieu of the present.

Forging a new national policy which makes assurances that student performance will improve dramatically as a first priority, while creating means to promote urban school desegregation, seems to be a much more viable public policy for the 80's, and in the long run may prove more acceptable to all parties concerned.



The acceptable cost of schooling and the perceived level of student performance remained relatively constant until around 1950. Between 1960 and 1976 the cost of schooling exceeded the level of support that local citizens perceived as cost-effective. Desegregation or not desegregation. The citizens who support the schools will demand a parallel rise in student performance with the cost of schooling in the future.

Footnotes

1. Barbara L. Jackson, Race Relations from a Black Perspective. Prepared for discussion by the Urban School Desegregation Study Group. April, 1978.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. James S. Coleman, S. Kelly and J. Moore, Trends in School Segregation: 1968-1973. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1975.

5. Derrick Bell, A Position Paper. May 1978.

6. James Coleman, Incentives Schemes for School Desegregation. Taken from a paper prepared for discussion by the Urban School Desegregation Study Group. April, 1978.

ED169173

STATE AND LOCAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROMOTING LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS OF EQUITY AND EQUALITY: A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

Charles V. Willie*

An appropriate introduction to this discussion is a statement that was made by th Massachusetts Commissioner of Education in a dialogue between him and a faculty member of the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Gregory Anrig's remarks were published in the summer of 1978. He said, "The 1960s was a period of time when everyone was looking to Washington to solve very fundamental problems. Then a period of disillusion set in after that; and, with that, the realization if something were going to happen, we ought to do it for ourselves at the state and local levels. I don't see that as unhealthy -- particularly in the area of education. I do think that education is a state responsibility. The ball has been tossed back in our laps, and I think that the states are beginning to move with it."[1]

This paper will present a conceptual analysis of the different responsibilities that state and local levels should assume in promoting the purposes of education.

The purpose of education is to foster learning. The responsibility of state and local authorities is to provide learning environments that promote equity and equality. Politically, this can be done to the benefit of individuals and institutions only if educational decision-making structures at state and local levels are effective conflict-resolving instruments.

*Professor Willie is a professor of Education and Urban Studies at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. He has served as a consultant for the National Project and Task Force on Desegregation Strategies and he has recently authored a new book on desegregation entitled, The Sociology of Urban Education.

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Robert Axelrod states that "each level is able to absorb no more than a certain amount of conflict of interest before the disputes at that level become too severe for the democratic process to handle." Further, he states that "an appropriate allocation of the conflict of interest between these two levels may help sustain democracy by allowing it to withstand a greater amount of total conflict of interest within the society."[2] An issue is the determination of the kinds of decisions that more appropriately can be handled at one level or another.

The principle of cleavages also helps us to understand how the state and local levels of society manage conflict. Conflict that results from cleavages is more creative and less destructive when the cleavages are crosscutting. Then the society is pulled together by these kinds of cleavages rather than torn apart as is likely to occur when cleavages overlap and therefore reinforce each other.[3] Dahl explains one outcome of overlapping cleavages this way: "If all the cleavages occur along the same lines, if the same people hold opposing positions in one dispute after another, then the severity of conflicts is likely to increase."[4] Of cross pressured people, Bernard Berelson, Paul Lazarsfeld, and William McPhee state that they are "simply members of separate social groups within which preference distributions are more nearly equal...."[5]

The problem for state and local authorities with reference to desegregated education is that of both promoting and controlling conflict as a creative process that enhances learning opportunities. As stated by Axelrod, "conflict of interest and the resulting conflictful behavior can be useful. Both factors can help one of the parties to a dispute achieve and maintain group cohesion. They can help all the parties to a dispute recognize and begin

to solve real problems they have.... Conflict of interest can even help outsiders by encouraging competition among participants."[6] Creativity in the conflict process is promoted when appropriate issues in desegregated education are handled at the appropriate state or local level, so that the two levels are complementary in the conflict-resolution process.

Both the promotion and the control of conflict of interest come from manipulation of situations. "Conflict of interest is a property of the preferences of the participants and the structure of the situation in which they find themselves."[7] State policies and practices can structure the situation for school desegregation decisions that affect outcome.

Two conceptual questions. What is the optimum balance between homogeneity and heterogeneity of decision making units (since cleavages tend to vary by the size and composition of a body)? What is the appropriate distribution of such units at varying levels of governance (since an appropriate allocation of the conflict of interest between different levels may help sustain democracy)? This paper will explore these questions and provide some tentative answers.

These questions serve as guidelines for the analysis of the purpose of desegregated education which is the promotion of learning environments of equity and equality. Other issues in desegregated education have to do with the ratio of majority-minority participants that contributes to an optimum learning experience, curriculum development and other modifications of the learning environment, evaluating and reforming the learning environment. These issues will be discussed in subsequent papers that will analyze what should be done and by whom. This paper is limited to a discussion of equality and equity -- the purpose of desegregated education -- and by whom and at what

level they should be implemented.

One of the founders of this nation, Thomas Jefferson, believed that the business of the state is to "establish the law for educating the common people."[8] He said that education should provide the masses with "virtue and wisdom enough to manage the concerns of the society."[9] He was interested in the "general diffusion of learning."[10] He was quite impressed with the town meetings of New England and hoped that wards could be formed within each county in the state of Virginia for the purpose of carrying out "those portions of self-government for which they are best qualified." To accomplish this -- that is, to provide the masses with sufficient virtue and wisdom to manage the concerns of society, he proposed that there be established in each ward "a free school."[11]

Education, according to Jefferson, was for the purpose of promoting participation in public affairs so that "the genuine sense of the people" might be made known on any issue. Such an education for this purpose involved the learning of knowledge (reading, writing and arithmetic) and the learning of wisdom (virtue and understanding).

Jefferson described the selection process of representatives to direct the government as a moral act. He believed that those who managed society should have both knowledge and virtue. Knowledge, virtue and wisdom, according to Jeffersonian democracy, result from "a general diffusion of learning" among "the common people."

Jefferson's ideas, of course, were contested by John Adams and others but eventually they prevailed. Universal education became a public responsibility in the United States because education was identified as contributing to the public good. Despite the fact that there are personal benefits and

private gains associated with education, in general it has been perceived as a means of enhancing the operation of a republican form of government in which the people confer and withdraw authority and power when in their knowledge and wisdom it is appropriate to do so.

Self-governance, in Jefferson's view, consisted not only of self-control but also of controlling human collectivities and the environment for the common good. These controls involved such activities as caring for the poor, building roads, maintaining a police force, conducting elections, and administering justice.[12] The education that Jefferson proposed was for the purpose of assisting the people to make moral choices about the operation of these and other community activities.

Langdon Gilkey, a United States citizen, who saw people stripped bare of pretensions in an internment camp of 2,000 women, men, and children that was located in Asia during the war with Japan, kept a rather lengthy journal and formed this opinion about the moral basis of knowledge and rationality. He said, "Rational behavior in communal action is primarily a moral and not an intellectual achievement, possible only to a person who is morally capable of self-sacrifice. In a real sense ... moral selflessness is a prerequisite for the life of reason -- not its consequence...."[13] His elaboration of this idea in the extended passage that is presented below brings the issue of the purpose of education beyond the Revolutionary period into the twentieth century.

> Technological advance . . . spells "progress" only if [people] are in fact rational and good. A [person] motivated only by self-interest, a [person] subject to brutal or vicious prejudicies and passions, one who can kill and maim with ease if [one's] security is threatened, is no technologist in whom to have confidence.... A realistic view of [people] tends to undermine

> the confidence a technological culture has in its own progress. Since we all want to believe in something, our secularized culture has tended to adopt an idealistic view of [people] as innately rational and good, as able to handle [themselves] and [their] own history with the relative ease with which [they] dealt with nature. Consequently, the scientist rather than the politician, the knower rather than the moralist, has seemed to us to be the guarantor of security and peace, the harbinger of a better world.
>
> As I learned in camp, this vision is a false dream: the things we long for -- peace, prosperity, and a long life -- depend to a far greater degree on the achievement of harmony and justice among [people] than they do on the latest inventions from our laboratories, valuable as the latter may be. That achievement of harmony and justice confronts us as a race, not with problems of technological know-how or scientific knowledge so much as with the problems of political and moral decisions.[14]

The wisdom of Langdon Gilkey that was derived from his prison camp experience indicates that our current emphasis on individual achievement, intellectual development, and personal competence imbalances the purpose of education and may even misdirect it. Thus, Daniel Bell's recommendation that "high-scoring individuals [on the Intelligence Quotient scale] . . . should be brought to the top in order to make the best use of their talents" should be rejected as connoting a definition of education that is too limited.[15] "Rational behavior in communal action," as indicated by Gilkey, "is primarily a moral and not an intellectual achievement." The most intelligent people may or may not be sufficiently selfless to make rational and appropriate decisions for the public good. The purpose of desegregated public education, then, is to provide learning opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge and understanding for the making of political and moral decisions that sustain communal life.

This purpose has nothing to do with the notion of "equality of output" as an educational goal that is discussed by James Coleman and others.[16] It reveals the assertion by Daniel Bell that "the aim of social policy . . . has to be equality of results . . . rather than equality of opportunity" as an idea that is almost antisocial.[17] What anyone achieves or produces because of greater natural or cultivated capacities should work for the good of the least fortunate.[18] Thus, Alden Thresher is bold to assert that there is no such thing as an unfit or unqualified seeker after education.[19] I am inclined to agree with him. The notion of equality of results is foreign to education since it is for the purpose of helping one become what he or she is capable of becoming to help manage society. We all know that a heterogeneous population is better capable of exploiting an environment than a homogeneous one. Why then should public policy emphasize equal results when a polymorphic society is better?

Political and moral decisions about the purpose of desegregated education result in public policies about equality and equity. It is equality of opportunity about which desegregated education is concerned, however. As I have stated elsewhere, "equal educational opportunity . . . means that each person will be provided an opportunity to learn how to function in a way that fulfills his or her self-interest for the common good and that society will make it possible for each person to become what one is capable of becoming . . . ."[20]

Thus, the primary concern with equality in education is with equality of opportunity, not equality of results. John Rawls presents a clear and succinct statement that is damaging to the assertion that education should be a meritocracy. "No one deserves his greater natural capacity nor merits

a more favorable starting place in society." Rawls approves of a social system (and presumably an educational system) in which "no one gains or loses from his arbitrary place in the distribution of national assets on his initial position in society without giving or receiving compensating advantages in return."[21] The kind of society of which Rawls approves would be just and fair. It is the purpose of desegregated education to maintain and sustain such a society.

We come now to the issue of who should make the various decisions about the purpose of desegregated education and at what level of government should various decisions be made. Moreover, what ought to be the composition of the decision-making unit or units and what are the implications of this for the promotion and control of creative conflict in society? Finally, are new social arrangements necessary at local and state levels to facilitate fair decisions about equality and equity?

The issue is more or less universal for all states in the nation of whether or not the opportunity to participate in the educational system as learner or teacher is equally available and not impaired by arbitrary personal or social characteristics of individuals or discriminatory public policy. To the extent that equality of opportunity is a function of law, it cannot be modified because of individual caprice or dislike for it. If it is a right, it must be conferred and dealt with as a universal or cosmopolitan issue, not subject to particular variations in local situations. Thus, the rules and regulations regarding the opportunity to participate in the educational system to the fullest of one's capacity should be a function of decision-making at the state level.

Indeed, policies pertaining to individual rights that have been encoded

in public law or promulgated as regulations by authorized state agencies can not be suspended except by law. To the extent that the policy is a communal product, it must be changed by collective action. The very fact that such policies are not subject to variations of individual situations means that they are principle-centered and are resolved on the basis of knowledge, logic and the public good. The principle can be disentangled from persons when deliberations are distant from the locations of individuals. Thus, state-level decision-making should focus on the institution of education and the categories of people who participate in it rather than on specific individuals. Decisions regarding equality are for the purpose of maximizing the public good.

Matters of equity pertaining to educational policy and purpose are situational and, therefore, should be dealt with at local levels. What is equitable in one set of circumstances may not be equitable in another. Equity has to do with the best decision that can be rendered at a particular point in time on the basis of information available. Equity is concerned with persons more than with principles. Equitable educational decisions are for the purpose of minimizing harm to individuals. For this reason, decision-making units that are closest to the situations in which individuals interact are best able to render moral and political decisions that are equitable. Decisions at this level are person-centered and are resolved on the basis of virtue, wisdom, and the self-interest of the individuals as they can be understood.

Another way of contrasting decisions about equality of opportunity and equity is to indicate the questions that are addressed. Questions about equality of opportunity are concerned with availability and therefore must

answer questions about who shall be educated and what shall they be taught. Who has to do with the collectivity, with common attributes of persons -- their sex, age, race or ethnicity, physical or mental status. What has to do with curriculum or subject matter. Shall persons of varying attributes be taught similar or different things? Questions such as this one assume that standards regarding who shall be taught and what shall they be taught are universal because the distribution of the capacity to learn is more or less random among populations with different attributes in the United States. Thus, any modification in the kinds of people permitted to participate in the learning environment must be justified. In terms of the principle of equality, the modification is warranted only if it can be proven that it will mutually benefit the individual and society more than the standard approach. Since issues of who shall be educated and what shall they be taught must be resolved on the basis of universal standards or principles that consider the range of capacities of a collectivity rather than the capacities of a particular individual, it is appropriate that such decisions should be made at the state level, remote from particular experiences.

The same questions apply to teachers who participate in the learning environment as those raised for students. Persons with particular attributes cannot be excluded in an arbitrary way from learning situations unless there is clear and present evidence that the individual teacher and the society will be mutually harmed. Since capacity to pass on knowledge and wisdom is assumed to be randomly distributed among populations with different attributes in the United States, any exclusionary practice must be justified. The state therefore should set forth principles regarding affirmative action and equality of opportunity for the employment of teachers that prevent

unjustified exclusionary practices.

In all instances the justification must focus on both the category of individuals and the society. Because in human society, the whole exists for the sake of its parts, a practice always is inappropriate that attempts to help the whole at the expense of any part. In this respect, human society is unlike other organic systems in nature. It is possible to help the parts at the expense of the whole but never the other way around in human society. The principle of equality of opportunity strives to find a solution that is mutually beneficial to particular categories of individuals and the total society. This, of course, is not easy. For this reason, decisions about equality of opportunity should be made at the state level where all of the interests of all the categories of people meet and can be weighed and considered together to determine what is mutually beneficial for the whole and its parts.

Questions about where and how people should be taught are situational, have to do with space and facilities that are available, the knowledge and experience of teachers on location. The resolution of such questions involves, first, an assessment of the educational resources one has or can get and then developing a fair plan for their distribution to achieve the purpose of desegregated education, so that none receives less than is necessary to serve the community in the way that one is best capable of serving. This resolution process is one of equity and is best solved at the local level where education takes place.

Equity decisions in education require that educational resources be distributed in a way that enhances the capacity of the community to survive. A community, for example, that has handicapped children, but that does not

provide for their education, is sowing the seeds of its own destruction. The same community that could exclude handicapped children from educational benefits on the basis of that attribute could seize upon another physical, mental or social attribute that is found among a minority of the population and use it as the basis for exclusion.

While questions of equality have to do with what is good for the individual, questions of equity have to do with what is good for the community. This is certain: a community that discriminates against any of its members regardless of their condition of life and sacrifices their well-being for the benefit of others will erode the sense of trust that bonds people together in reciprocal relationships. So while the issue of equality is concerned with individuals, it has implications for the stability of the community and its bond.

Equity decisions in education are based on community need and the varying requirements of individuals so that they may effectively contribute to the community. A unitary school system is one in which resources are distributed equitably, a school system in which the disadvantaged receive a disproportionate amount of the educational resources because the development of their capacities to contribute to society may be more difficult. Because different localities have different needs, it is essential that equity decisions be rendered at the local level. Traditionally citywide, countywide, and regional school boards or committees have assumed the responsibility of making and promulgating policy pertaining to where and how students shall be educated. This is how it should be. In the past, however, such decisions have not been very equitable. For example, seldom has a disproportionate amount of the educational resources of a community been reserved for the

disadvantaged, even though past experience has demonstrated that education is the fastest elevation to upward mobility. Seldom has bilingual education been adequately financed, although pluralism is a basic characteristic of urban communities.

Clearly self-interest has been the prevailing determination of local educational decisions. Because decision-making bodies for education at the local level have been overwhelmingly and sometimes exclusively middle-class and white, the self-interests of these groups have prevailed. If anything, a disproportionate share of educational resources has been reserved for the normal children of the white middle-class who present fewer learning difficulties. A decision like this one regarding the distribution of educational resources, certainly is not equitable in that it does not give to each category all that is needed for effective participation in the local community. Discriminatory local practices which several courts have found to be unfair actually have provided more resources than are needed by some and less resources than are needed by others for the cultivation of their capacities for effective community participation.

Although decisions of equity regarding where and how education should be undertaken are for the purpose of local survival and therefore should be made at the local level, the state nevertheless has a procedural function. It should see to it that local decision-making boards are sufficiently heterogeneous to take into consideration the majority and various minority interests within the local population. Because self-interest appears to be the basic motivation for social action, there does not seem to be any other way of guaranteeing that the self-interests of all sectors of the population will be weighed and considered in the decision-making process than by requiring that the local educational decision-making structure be

diversified with members that represent the varying interests in the community.

Because of the local educational decisions, particularly those having to do with the distribution of resources, already are tied up with self-interests, it is difficult for those in power to relinquish authoritative positions and their benefits. Thus, a principle regarding diversification should be made at a level that is beyond the self-interest of local educational situations. Such a principle, therefore, is more appropriately made at the state level and can take the form of requiring school board elections by single-member districts rather than at large or by mandating a ratio of majority/minority board members even for an at-large election as is sometimes mandated for members of the Democratic and Republican parties on some official bodies. Possibly, there are other and more creative ways of accomplishing diversity in local educational decision-making groups. The point is that a planned and deliberate policy for diversity must be adopted. Because of the pervasive influence of self-interest in public affairs, diversity can not be left to chance. The probability is that it will not happen in the future, as it has not happened often in the past, if there is no policy. A community without a diversified decision-making structure is vulnerable, is courting its eventual destruction.

A diversified decision-making group at the local level is in a better position to formulate wise plans for resolving controversial issues of equity in education. Indeed, one might conjecture that some of the issues pertaining to desegregation that have been escalated from the local community to the state and federal courts could and would have been handled at the local level if the decision-making groups had been sufficiently diversified to accomodate the self-interest educational concerns of majority and the various minority populations.

In summary, we have stated that decisions about equality -- the statements of principle -- are best made at the state level, remote from the location of implementation where considerations of self-interest tend to create an emotionally charged atmosphere. Also, at the local level, the perspective is likely to be partial and too limited to recognize the harm that may result from making certain educational opportunities available only to one's own kind. The broader perspective at the state level enables one to arrive at a more appropriate decision about the principle of equality of opportunity and how it should be applied precisely because judgment is not encumbered entirely by local loyalties.

A principle is a kind of law; and the purpose of law in social organization is to "control self-interest," as stated by Langdon Gilkey, so that it may be molded into socially creative rather than socially destructive patterns.[22] Gilkey has concluded that "Life cannot be run in a way that . . . dispenses with strict principles, with general laws by which individual cases are determined." The law is a way of protecting some against their rapacious neighbors.[23] While principles are necessary and essential because of the indwelling spirit of self-interest, actually the principle of equality may be unfair, "Whenever, in fact, the needs of people really differ from those of their neighbors."[24]

The exceptions to the principle of equality of opportunity are decisions about educational practice. They should be made at the local level as decisions about practice in social organization are decisions about equity. Equity has to consider the people and their circumstances. However it should be recognized that decisions of equity that deviate from customary practices can be safely made only if general laws have been established that also set

forth the legal method for deviating to achieve a condition of equity.

The achievement of equality and the achievement of equity are different and therefore ought to be handled by different units within society. While we have asserted that educational decisions of equality and equity should be handled at state and local levels, respectively, this does not mean that such decisions are unrelated to each other. What happens at the level of practice affects what happens at the level of principle and vice versa. Gilkey puts it this way: "a democratic society can possess no stronger law than the moral character of the people within it will affirm and support." At the same time, "any civilization rests only on some ethical basis."[25] Principle is a guideline for practice and practice is the foundation of principle. Because both are interrelated, it is essential that different units of social organization take responsibility for the formation of principle or the implementation of practice, for one or the other but not for both. When the state and the locality have divided responsibilities pertaining to principle and practice in desegregated education, they serve as a system of checks and balances.

The massive resistance laws to school desegregation that were enacted by Virginia in 1956 and subsequently by a few additional states were eventually declared to be unconstitutional. Beyond the fact that they violated principles of equality of educational opportunity, these laws were inappropriate because they placed state government directly in the business of formulating educational principles and implementing educational practice. As you may recall, a State Pupil Placement Board was created that had the authority to handle all cases of pupil assignment. Under these arrangements, the state and local levels could not check and balance each other. Practice had to conform always with

principle and principle had to conform always with practice. One was not free to correct the other. Thus both suffered and great harm was visited upon the public school system.

The Commonwealth probably would have repealed the law that gave rise to this arrangement even if it had not been unconstitutional because the conflict it concentrated at one level, the state level, would have been too much for a democratic system to bear, according to the theory of distributive decision-making advanced by Axelrod. Indeed one may hypothesize that any state that concentrates all decision-making at one level will lose its democratic character as democracy and concentrated decision-making power are incompatible.

In community organization, the same unit of society cannot initiate action, declare such action to be legitimate or legal, and then implement it. Such an arrangement without checks could lead to tyranny. Thus, the different responsibilities that have been identified for state and local levels are not so much a convenient way of sharing a common burden as an essential way of protecting society by providing balance, delimited authority, and an appropriate perspective for the solution of particular problems.

Footnotes

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THE CASE FOR METROPOLITAN APPROACHES TO PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION*

Thomas F. Pettigrew**

Three basic reasons commend metropolitan approaches to public school desegregation in urban America. The first of these reasons is widely understood: the racial demography of many of the nation's cities demands a metropolitan perspective on the process. Related to this factor is the second reason: metropolitan approaches deter resegregation. Finally, a range of desirable goals for an effective school desegregation program - such as furthering genuine integration, cost and transportational efficiency, equity, and parental choice - can all be more effectively advanced within a metropolitan context. Yet misconceptions abound concerning this view of school desegregation. Consequently, this paper considers each of the three reasons for metropolitan solutions to public school desegregation together with a discussion of the misconceptions held about these solutions.

I. Urban Demography Necessitates Metropolitan Approaches

The most obvious reason for adopting a metropolitan perspective on the problem concerns the racial composition of many of the nation's central cities. This factor is particularly salient for large cities. Among the twenty largest cities, only five - Indianapolis, Jacksonville, Milwaukee, Phoenix, and San Diego - currently have public schools with a white, "Anglo" student majority. Recent public school student enrollments have dipped

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to 22% white in Chicago, 19% in Oakland and New Orleans, 18% in Detroit, 15% in Atlanta, and just 4% in Washington, D.C.

These large-city enrollment data reflect in part white attendance at private schools but even more the residential distribution of blacks and whites within metropolitan areas. First, blacks live in metropolitan areas more than whites (76% to 67% in 1974). Second, they are more likely to live in the very largest metropolitan areas. Thus, blacks constituted in 1974 22.0% of the central city populations of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) over one million and 16.9% of the central cities of smaller SMSAs.[1] Finally, black Americans are more likely to be living inside central cities than in the metropolitan rings. In 1974, 77% of metropolitan blacks resided in central cities (down slightly from 79% in 1970) compared to only 38% of metropolitan whites (down from 41% in 1970).[2] This doubled proportion of blacks in the core cities is the basic fact underlying the maldistribution of the races in the nation's SMSAs; it alone is the major reason for the vast separation of black and white citizens both residentially and educationally.

Care must be taken not to overgeneralize these big city data. Many smaller cities in the United States--from Portland, Maine to Eugene, Oregon-possess overwhelmingly white school districts, and do not require metropolitan efforts in order to desegregate completely and easily. Prototypical of these cities is Des Moines, Iowa, with only a ninth of its approximately 40,000 pupils black. Attention to the largest cities often obscures the significant amount of easily correctable segregation that remains in Des Moines and similar cities. However, the present discussion focuses upon the medium- and large-size urban districts that require some degree of metropolitan cooperation

to solve their problems of school segregation.

There is wide agreement that metropolitan approaches are necessary to achieve urban desegregation in a variety of American cities. But agreement ends when the policy implications of this phenomenon are drawn. Proponents of court-ordered school desegregation view this fact as an obvious call for metropolitan initiatives. Opponents regard virtually any form of metropolitan solutions as either impossible to achieve or highly undesirable. Their view of the impossibility of the effort ignores the fact that metropolitan desegregation is already successfully operating in a growing number of SMSAs, ironically most of them in the South. Their view of the undesirability is often based on the misconceptions of metropolitan approaches that will be considered later. However the policy implications are argued, the stark fact remains that urban school segregation will not only remain but worsen without metropolitan remedies in central city districts that provide public instruction to roughly half of America's black elementary and secondary students.

There is also some disagreement as to the causal factors that underlie the patterns of racial demography that make metropolitan remedies necessary. Few social scientists, however, would join Mr. Justice Stewart in his remarkable observation in Milliken v. Bradley that these factors are "unknown and perhaps unknowable."[3] The great majority of social scientists who have studied the subject believe that structural barriers erected by public policies shaped and determined the dual racial housing market of today.[4] These governmental policies clearly constitute "state action" under the 14th Amendment, the worst offender being the federal government itself.

Since 1935, one federal housing program after another - public housing,

mortgages from the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration, urban renewal, model cities, even taxation policy - have exacerbated this trend.[5] Within this national structure, of course, the many discriminatory practices of the banking and real estate industries cemented housing segregation by race at the local level. Four decades of dual housing markets for black and white Americans have shaped the racial and housing attitudes, expectations, and behavior of both races.[6] At this late date, then, it is a gross confusion of the historical sequence and causal order to argue that unfettered housing choices by black and white citizens created "naturally" today's patterns of residential segregation independent of state action. Such an "unfettered choice" thesis, advanced by a few nonspecialists, simply ignores the fact that these "choices" are derivative of the dual housing markets. And it ignores the vast evidence for the massive and intense degree of housing discrimination against black Americans, an intensity unmatched by any housing discrimination against any other race or ethnic group in the United States.

II. Metropolitan Approaches Deter Resegregation

Also in contention has been the importance of court-ordered school desegregation as a factor in creating increasingly black core cities and white suburban rings.[7] The so-called "white flight" thesis is that these court orders have been self-defeating in that they drive white children out of central city public school systems who would have remained had there been no court orders. Note how this contention argues for the continuation of present segregation on the grounds of the dangers of possible resegregation, and rejects the possibility of metropolitan desegregation. And, like the "unfettered choice" thesis, the "white flight" thesis reverses the time

sequence, for the racial trends of urban demography that now necessitate metropolitan efforts were already deeply established prior to court-ordered school desegregation in most southern and virtually all northern cities.

Several points must be made about the much-debated "white flight" phenomenon in order to see how it provides yet another reason for metropolitan approaches to school desegregation. First, the school desegregation process came to most central cities at precisely the time that student enrollments were already beginning to decline rapidly. Elementary and secondary education was a growth industry between 1946 and 1970. But birth rates began to recede in 1957 (earlier and faster for whites than blacks); and the lagged time effect of this basic trend meant that public education has had steadily declining enrollments since their peak in 1971. Adding to this national trend, net migration into the larger metropolitan areas began to reverse into a net outflow; now it is the more sparcely populated rural areas that are starting to grow swiftly.[8] The coincidence of these two trends with urban desegregation made it appear as if the two were inextricably and causally related. But for our present concerns, it is important to observe that these birth-rate and out-migration trends are not changing - indeed, they are likely to increase in the future and continue to lower pupil enrollments in the metropolitan rings as well as the central cities. We shall later note that these trends lend economic incentives for metropolitan cooperation.

Second, "white flight" researchers agree that the loss of white students is far more related to the proportion of black enrollment than to school desegregation itself. Consequently, the school systems of Chicago, St. Louis, and Newark all had majority black enrollments in 1968 and experienced heavy

losses of white students from 1968 to 1973 without any program of school desegregation whatsoever.[9] Only metropolitan approaches can overcome this condition.

Third, in addition to these more critical and basic phenomena, there is often a larger-than-usual loss of white students during the first year of school desegregation. Most studies find these losses to be limited to the initial years of desegregation.[10] Sometimes these losses can be substantial (Atlanta, Memphis), sometimes moderate (Dayton, Minneapolis). And they tend to be least in desegregation programs of metropolitan scope - the critical point to emphasize.

Fourth, there is some question over the meaning of these losses. Farley points out that white enrollment may decline from one year to the next for four reasons.[11] White high school graduates can outnumber the entering white first graders. This factor has been and will continue to be a major one given low fertility rates. The number of white students whose families move into the district may decline for many reasons, most of which are unrelated to the schools. In addition, racial and ethnic identities become salient at the time of desegregation, and students with varying degrees of Hispanic, Asian, or Indian ancestry may be recorded as white one year but minority the next. This factor is believed to have been especially significant in the Southwest and California.

Finally, white enrollment may decline because parents move out of the district or place their children in private schools. Much of this movement has nothing to do with desegregation or even with the schools. Some of the shift <u>is</u> related to desegregation, whether court-ordered or not. Just how much is caused by desegregation itself, however, is difficult to specify

given the paucity of relevant survey data. Furthermore, the assumption that this loss associated with desegregation consists of white students who would not have otherwise been lost to the city school district at a later point is not supported by overtime studies.[12] Instead, the phenomenon is more accurately viewed as "an hastening up effect." It leads to initial losses of white pupils that do indeed speed resegregation; but over a five- or ten-year period it often constitutes merely "fine tuning" around the far more critical factors underlying resegregation of demographic trends and suburban housing discrimination against black citizens.

The "hastening up effect" is illustrated by Farley's projections for white, Anglo enrollment in the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD).[13] Given the low Anglo birth rate and the still-high Hispanic birth rate together with the continued Hispanic immigration across the border, Farley estimates that the white, Anglo student proportion of the District will fall sharply from its 1977 percentage of 34. By 1982, his projections estimate an Anglo percentage of 23 if there were no "white flight" from desegregation whatsoever and 19 if there were a high rate of "white flight." By 1987, his projections estimate only 14% Anglo pupils if there were no "white flight" and 12% if there were a high rate. In other words, the Anglo proportion of the LAUSD will probably decrease over the next decade from 34% to either 12% or 14% whether or not there were an extensive desegregation program in the LAUSD and whether or not there were "white flight" as a consequence of school desegregation.

This reinterpretation does <u>not</u> mean that resegregation in our central city school systems is not a serious problem, or that it is not important to deter "the hastening up effect." Quite the opposite is the case. From

this perspective, it becomes all the more urgent to adopt metropolitan deterrents to the loss of white students. Especially is this true for large central cities with high proportions of black students where the white student loss, however conceptualized, is greatest.

Even the few critics of court-ordered school desegregation within social science admit that "white flight" is minimal in metropolitan desegregation programs, for this proven feature of metropolitan approaches is beyond dispute. No metropolitan program of public school desegregation has experienced an extensive loss of white students. The metropolitanwide programs of Miami, Fort Lauderdale, Tampa, Jacksonville, Louisville, Charlotte, and Nashville have not experienced losses even comparable to those of some programs limited to the central city such as Memphis, Atlanta and San Francisco. Tampa and Fort Lauderdale, both countywide districts as throughout Florida, actually gained white pupils between 1968 and 1973 while undergoing more massive school desegregation than either Atlanta or San Francisco.[14]

The most detailed study of this phenomenon was made of seven countywide desegregating Florida school districts where residential relocation was impractical and transfer to private schools offered the only means for "white flight."[15] It found only a minimal loss of white students at the time of school desegregation in these large districts. Moreover, survey data of individual families revealed that white enrollment in private schools to avoid desegregation was unrelated to racial prejudice or to busing and was greatest among upper-status families and those whose children attended schools with more than 30% black enrollment. This last condition, schools with more than 30% black pupils, would be uncommon in the vast majority of metropolitan desegregation programs that could be designed.

III. Metropolitan Approaches Advance Other Desirable Goals of School Desegregation

In deterring the loss of white students, metropolitan approaches contribute significantly to the stability of desegregation programs. But stability is just one, albeit an important one, of the desirable goals of school desegregation. Among the most desirable of these goals are:

(1) Optimal conditions for genuine integration and quality education. Obviously, the principal goal of the entire process is to improve the educational experiences of all school children. To achieve this, genuine racial integration is necessary, not mere desegregation; that is, positive intergroup contact with cross-racial acceptance must evolve out of the mixing of children. Experience across the country has shown that the design of the desegregation efforts itself can greatly further this evolving process of intergroup integration.

(2) Cost efficient. Effective integrated education need not cost significantly more than segregated education, but it must be well planned to be cost efficient. Indeed, the process presents a rare opportunity to alter traditional procedures that have not proven to be cost effective in the past.

(3) Efficient transportation. Student desegregation needs to be maximized, while the busing of students needs to be minimized.

(4) Equity. No group or particular neighborhood should have to bear a disproportionate burden in disruption and transportation. Yet absolute equity between all is not possible, since special accommodations have to be made for concentrated housing patterns, language issues, and other distinctive problems.

(5) Choice. Increased choice for both students and parents is also highly desirable.

(6) Stability. Successful school desegregation requires stability in both the short- and long-run. We discussed issues of long-run stability in the previous section. Short-run stability is also important in order to develop the confidence and involvement of parents in the process.

Once these goals are made explicit, it can be readily seen that various parties in desegregation suits tend to focus on one or more of them to the exclusion of the others. Plaintiffs stress the conditions for integration and equity, defendants costs and stability. And each party can in fact make a persuasive case for its particular emphases, for each of the six broad goals is highly desirable. Problems arise, however, in the harsh fact that these goals often (though not always) conflict. There are important and necessary trade-offs to be made between them in any practical desegregation plan. And these critical trade-offs are typically not adequately addressed in desegregation cases because the adversary procedure itself militates against taking the broader, system view needed to consider them.

Metropolitan approaches are unique in that they allow a desegregation plan to maximize all six of the desirable goals without the harsh trade-offs forced upon plans that are constrained by central city boundaries. Consider each of the goals again in metropolitan perspective.

Optimal conditions for genuine integration and quality education. At least ten school conditions appear to maximize the evolution of integration: (1) equal access to the school's resources; (2) cultural fairness; (3) classroom - not just school - desegregation[16]; (4) avoidance of strict "test-score grouping"; (5) maintenance and improvement of services; (6) initiation of

desegregation in the early grades[17]; (7) consistent school feeder patterns that keep desegregated classes together; (8) interethnic staffs; (9) substantial, rather than token, minority student percentages; and (10) minimal association between race and socio-economic class.[18]

A number of these factors are easier to achieve with a metropolitan approach. For example, the "maintenance and improvement of services" is rendered more feasible by a broader tax base. Similarly, "substantial, rather than token, minority (and majority) student percentages" become possible. Many suburban school districts have only token numbers, if any, of minority pupils - a mirror reflection of the schools of some central cities. Metropolitanization, in pooling the enrollments, not only generally leads to appropriate percentages of students by group but often also stabilizes demographic trends.

Cost efficient. Metropolitan approaches to public education, apart from their beneficial intergroup effects, are a major means of achieving cost efficiency. This advantage becomes even more important in a period of low birth rates and declining school enrollments. Wasteful duplication across adjacent districts is common, and such anomalies abound as schools being closed a few miles away from over-crowded schools on double-sessions in another district. Not surprisingly, then, Florida has only countywide school districts largely for cost efficiency, not intergroup, reasons.

Efficient transportation. One of the means by which metropolitan approaches contribute to cost efficiency is by minimizing pupil transportation while maximizing school desegregation. Hence, the metropolitan desegregation plan proposed for Richmond, Virginia (but denied by the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals), for example, would have thoroughly desegregated a two-

county and central city area and reduced student transportation significantly.[19] Likewise, in Charlotte-Mecklenburg, the countywide plan approved by the U.S. Supreme Court completely desegregated the full county area and reduced busing times that prevailed before desegregation.[20] This advantage of metropolitan solutions would also hold for most urban areas in the North; but there would not be, as in Charlotte, less busing than at present since, unlike North Carolina, there are so few intra-district desegregation programs already underway. This advantage is especially maximized by long and narrowly shaped central city school districts, such as Los Angeles, a shape that is optimal for cooperation with suburban school districts.[21]

Equity. Metropolitan approaches can also contribute to greater equity for both majority and minority families. Usually minority concentrations in the core cities are nearer to majority concentrations in the suburbs than they are to majority areas in the core city itself. Intra-district plans, therefore, often expand busing and school coordination unnecessarily. Why, for instance, should Anglo children in Los Angeles who reside in the far western reaches of the San Fernando Valley be paired with Hispanic children 25 miles or more away in East Los Angeles when ample Anglo children live within ten miles of East Los Angeles in such suburbs as Burbank, Glendale, South Pasadena, San Marino, and Temple City that boast little or no school desegregation? It is precisely such inequities of intra-district plans that metropolitan approaches can eliminate.

Choice. This desirable goal can be enhanced by a carefully planned metropolitan solution via a number of means. Specialized schools and programs that attempt to act as voluntary "magnets" are more feasible under metropolitanism for two reasons. The broader tax base allows for a greater number and

range of such schools and programs. And the much broader enrollment base lends greater viability to this approach - an important point when one considers the general lack of success of "magnet" schools in their intra-district application.

Choice can also be furthered through exemptions for stable integrated neighborhoods. Though it is usually too constraining on the total system to allow such blanket exemptions when the desegregation program is confined to the central district, these residential exemptions become feasible in most metropolitan efforts. By allowing naturally mixed areas to utilize local schools without busing, choice is enlarged for families through residential rather than directly educational decisions. Hence, an overwhelmingly majority neighborhood that attracted in new minority neighbors would become eligible. More difficult but also eligible, of course, would be minority areas that attracted in majority neighbors. Moreover, families of any group that moved to a mixed area would become eligible. An incentive is thus provided for intergroup living, a rare phenomenon in the American housing market. And there have been indirect indications that such an incentive might well be substantial for generating change in racial residential patterns.[22]

Another advantage of this housing approach is that it extends parental choice without seriously limiting the attainment of the other desirable goals for an effective desegregation program. This is no small point, because most attempts to date to enlarge parental choice have tended to restrict severely such goals as attainment of the optimal conditions for integration, cost and transportational efficiency, and equity. For example, the 1978-79 desegregation plan of the Los Angeles Unified School District

so maximized choice for each school that it proved less than ideal on virtually all other counts.[23] But choice through residential decisions coincides with most of the other goals. It would generally enhance the ten conditions that further the evolution of genuine integration. It would on balance aid cost and transportational efficiency (though it adds to busing times generally when administered within intra-district plans). It would also advance stability. But it would involve some degree of inequity in that majority neighborhoods and upper-status families of all groups would be more able than others to take advantage of this incentive made possible by a metropolitan approach. Yet this trade-off seems like one worth making.

Stability. We have noted that metropolitan solutions help achieve long-term stability by deterring the "hastening up" of "white flight." But they also contribute to short-term stability. When citizens regard a social alteration as merely partial or temporary, they are understandably less willing to commit themselves to its implementation and success. Such is likely to be the case with an intra-district plan for a core city district without any prospect of later expansion to the suburbs.

In addition, both long-run and short-run stability depend on affected families being certain as to what to expect in the future from the program. Over the past generation in America, at least as much resistance to public school desegregation has been generated by uncertainty and fear as it has been by beliefs that could fairly be labeled as "racist." Metropolitan approaches, conducted properly, can allay such uncertainty and fear by allowing promises to be made to parents and children that can be kept in the future far beyond those possible in a constrained, intra-district plan.

IV. Misconceptions About Metropolitan Approaches to School Desegregation

There are four persistent and interrelated misconceptions about metropolitan approaches to school desegregation. The basic misconception is that such approaches necessarily entail one mammoth school district that covers the entire SMSA and more. Premised on this mistaken notion, there are the additional fears that such approaches invariably require massive amounts of pupil busing and usurp all local educational authority. Finally, there is the misconception that the achievement of metropolitan approaches is an all-or-none process, that there are no intermediate steps of metropolitan cooperation that can be sought initially. Let us briefly consider these points in turn.

Throughout this paper we have referred to metropolitan "approaches" and "solutions"; no mention of a single, supra-metropolitan school district has been or needs to be made. All that is necessary to gain the benefits of a metropolitan solution is to prevent the present, artificial boundaries of the central city districts from serving as an impenetrable "Berlin wall," shutting off cooperation between a predominantly minority system within and predominantly majority system without. In systems terms, these district boundaries are currently acting as a powerful constraint that prevents a rational, efficient, equitable, and stable solution to the problems of urban school segregation. Metropolitan benefits flow from effectively eradicating this constraint.

This perspective differs sharply from popular misconceptions about metropolitan education. Understandably, the successful metropolitan school systems of Jacksonville, Miami, Tampa, Nashville, Charlotte, and other areas have led the public and even a few social scientists to equate metropolitan efforts with large-scale consolidation. Yet this is not at all a

necessary direction of metropolitan efforts. In the metropolitan plan for the Richmond, Virginia area, seven individual districts were proposed, each smaller than the smallest of the three existing districts. What made it possible for this plan to desegregate the entire area thoroughly with a reduction in student transportation was that the new, smaller districts cross-cut the old district boundaries in strategic ways to allow efficient mixtures of black and white children.

It is important to correct this prevalent misconception of metropolitan efforts as necessarily leading to bigness. Many astute observers believe that many central city school districts are already too large today to be as responsive and efficient as they should be. From this vantage point, metropolitan efforts present a rare opportunity to create sub-regional districts smaller than the present-day core districts.

We have already seen that the far greater efficiency of student transportation made possible by metropolitan approaches modifies the fear of massive busing and of long rides across much of the SMSA. Likewise, the fear that all local education authority is necessarily lost can be at least partially allayed. When metropolitan solutions go toward smaller, more manageable sub-regional districts, a great variety of arrangements for governance and financing is possible. Many of these arrangements allow for considerable input from present school boards. At a central level, of course, the state must have ultimate responsibility for the smooth operation of the metropolitan sub-regional confederations. And, of course, any of these arrangements will constrain some of the present authority of local boards. But the fearful vision of a behemoth district with an impenetrable bureaucracy and no local control whatsoever clearly need not and should not

be allowed to result from metropolitan efforts.

Finally, metropolitan efforts need not be total in their effects. A larger number of urban areas have cross-district cooperation for limited school desegregation than have full-scale metropolitan programs. In the 1960's, many urban areas began one-way voluntary busing programs of inner-city black children out to white suburban schools. The first such examples involved tiny numbers of students but attracted considerable national attention. Some of these early programs were later eliminated. But several of them have grown into relatively large projects, encouraged by state governments with aid from the federal government. The best known, perhaps, is the Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity (METCO), operating in the Boston and Springfield areas of Massachusetts. This program now arranges for about 3,200 black youngsters to receive their education in one of over 200 schools that comprise 41 cooperating suburban districts.[24] Applications of children wishing to participate typically number two to three times the available spaces, so a sizable waiting list is maintained. Over the past 13 years of operation, the spaces available and the number of voluntarily cooperating communities have climbed steadily. Sharp debates sometimes break out over the issue in suburban town meetings; and, in turn, black-administered METCO sometimes rejects a community's application when the suburb is regarded as "not ready yet" for genuine integration. Significantly, however, METCO has come to be regarded as a permanent fixture of public education in the state, and its state financial support remained secure throughout Boston's stormy school desegregation process.

Connecticut's Project Concern began in the 1960s as a small program of transporting black students in Hartford out to a number of participating

suburbs. Once supported with significant funds, however, Project Concern spread to New Haven, Bridgeport, and other Connecticut cities.

The most notable of recent state efforts along these lines has occurred in Wisconsin. Concerned with the problems raised by a federal court order to desegregate schools within Milwaukee,[25] the Wisconsin State Legislature created in 1975 an interesting program, (Chapter 220 of Wisconsin's laws of 1975), popularly known as the Conta bill after its originator and driving force, Dennis J. Conta.[26] In its initial year of operation, 1976-77, this statute supported with $8 million 14,000 intra-district and 360 inter-district voluntary transfers that aided school desegregation in both Milwaukee and Racine. It features two principal mechanisms. One provides substantial economic incentives to both the sending and receiving school districts for transfers that further school desegregation. All transportation costs of the transfers are assumed by the state; and state funds are available to help any school desegregation program mandated by a court. A second mechanism of the law requires the establishment of 17 joint educational councils between each of the suburban school districts of Milwaukee County and the Milwaukee City School Districts. Each council must submit an annual transfer plan; however, each school district retains veto power over these plans.

Inter-district cooperation has been advanced by other states, from Rhode Island to Washington, often for reasons of savings through economics of scale. Often state incentives are provided for two or more school districts to conduct various educational programs jointly. While not necessarily involving desegregation of either an intra- or inter-district nature, such statutes provide important precedents and incentives for

metropolitan cooperation that facilitate later inter-district desegregation efforts.

The point of citing these examples here is not to hold them up as ideal programs to be emulated; but, rather, to point out that there are initial metropolitan efforts that lie intermediate in scope between a strictly intra-district plan and a complete metropolitan plan. Discussions about "how to get there from here" need to be informed about such intermediate steps. Note that the one thing in common among them is the important role of the state government. Public education is, after all, the responsibility of the state; and boundary lines that create and perpetuate segregated schools are the creation and responsibility of the state. Not inappropriately, then, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Wisconsin together with a few other states have made at least tentative efforts toward easing the burdens of racial segregation made worse by the "Berlin walls" erected between inner-city and suburban school districts.

Yet it must be candidly stated that there are serious problems with these projects. The METCO and Project Concern programs are one-way busing schemes; thus, those whose Constitutional rights have been violated are the ones who bear the full burden of the remedy. Moreover, the relatively small numbers involved do not significantly affect the bulk of the core city problem of educational segregation. And these small numbers typically mean that black pupils are represented only in token numbers in their suburban schools. In METCO, for instance, black children comprise less than 5% of every school system in which they participate save one; and some of the "host" systems do not have a single black staff member.

Why, then, do black parents eagerly sign up their offspring for these

programs? The answer is simple. These suburban busing schemes offer one of the few options available for black parents with ambitions for better lives for their daughters and sons. These parents are generally aware of the costs, psychological and otherwise, to their children and themselves of these programs. But in full "black flight" from segregation and with little access otherwise to the networks of opportunity, the benefits of even token school desegregation under less than ideal conditions outweigh the alternatives.

As a means of broadening the options of minority parents in a severely limited situation, these programs are certainly justified. And some of their current problems - such as token numbers of students and the lack of black staff - are correctable. In addition, METCO and similar projects present useful models of inter-district cooperation that may in time allay suburban fears and prepare the ground for the full metropolitan measures that are needed. But those who advocate such programs as the final and complete answer to urban school segregation are in fact urging the continued racial segregation of the nation's urban schools.

V. Summary

The case for metropolitan approaches to urban problems of school segregation emphasizes three points. First and foremost, urban racial demography requires such approaches. The twice-greater proportion of metropolitan blacks residing in central cities than metropolitan whites (77% to 38% in 1974) has become the major factor in the educational and residential separation of the races.

Second, metropolitan approaches deter resegregation. Whether conceptualized as "white flight" or "an hastening up effect," problems of the losses of

white students in urban school districts have been consistently limited by metropolitan approaches.

Third, metropolitan approaches advance other desirable goals of effective desegregation. With minimal trade-offs, such solutions further the attainment of optimal conditions for genuine integration, cost and transportational efficiency, equity, choice, and both short-term and long-term stability. By contrast, these goals are often in conflict in intra-district plans, and harsh trade-offs between them must be made.

Arguments against metropolitan approaches are often based on a number of misconceptions. The central misconception is that such efforts require one enormous school district spread over the whole SMSA and beyond. Related to this spectre are fears of massive student busing and the loss of all local educational authority. Actually, there is a great range of efforts possible within a metropolitan perspective and no necessity whatsoever for one supra-metropolitan district. As long as the essential requirement of strategically cutting across present city-suburban boundaries is met, metropolitan designs can feature multiple sub-regional districts that are smaller than the current central city and some suburban districts. Moreover, metropolitan plans are maximally efficient for limiting student transportation as a function of the amount of school desegregation achieved. Consequently, fears of massive busing criss-crossing the entire SMSA can be allayed. Likewise, fears of the loss of all local control of public education can also be allayed by careful planning of the form of governance desired, for again there is a vast range of possible forms.

In addition, there is a range of efforts of intermediate scope with which to initiate metropolitan designs. To date, these efforts have

typically involved one-way voluntary busing programs of black pupils from the city to white schools in the suburbs. The best known of these are METCO in Massachusetts, Project Concern in Connecticut, and recent transfers under the Conta bill in Wisconson. These programs have typically suffered from their small numbers of students, lack of black staff in suburban schools, and assignment of the full transportational burden upon blacks alone. Yet they widen the options available to black families, and represent useful precedents for more extensive inter-district cooperation. They can never serve, however, as the complete answer to the nation's embedded problem of urban school segregation.

The principal point is that urban school segregation will not only remain but worsen without metropolitan remedies in many central city districts. There are a wide range of such metropolitan approaches to fit different urban situations. But to argue against <u>all</u> such metropolitan forms is to argue directly for the perpetuation and entrenchment of racial segregation of the public schools throughout much of urban America into the far distant future.

Footnotes

1. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports. Series P-23, No. 54, 1975; p.15.

2. Ibid., pp.9, 14.

3. Milliken v. Bradley, 418 U.S. at 756 n. 2 (1974).

4. K.E. Taeuber and A.F. Taeuber, Negroes in Cities. Chicago: Aldine, 1965; and Charles Abrams, "The housing problem and the Negro." In T.F. Pettigrew (ed.), Racial Discrimination in the United States. New York: Harper & Row, 1975.

5. For case evidence of this process in a small Alabama city, see: T.J. Lowi, "Apartheid U.S.A.," Trans-Action, 1970, 7 (4), 32-39 (reprinted in Pettigrew, (ed.), op. cit., pp. 59-74).

6. T.F. Pettigrew, "Black and white attitudes toward race and housing." In Pettigrew (ed.), op. cit., pp. 92-126.

7. J. Coleman, S. Kelly, and J. Moore, Trends in School Segregation: 1968-73. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1975. J. Coleman, "Response to Professors Pettigrew and Green," Harvard Educational Review, May 1976, 46 (2), 217-224; R. Farley, "Racial integration in the public schools, 1967 to 1972: Assessing the effects of public policy," Sociological Focus, 1975, 8, 3-26; R. Farley, T. Richards, and C. Wurdock, "School integration and white flight: A resolution of conflicting results," Population Studies Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan (Unpublished paper), 1978; M. Fitzgerald and D. Morgan, "School desegregation and white flight: North and South," Integrated Education, 1977, 15, 78-81; D. Lord, "School busing and white abandonment of public schools," Southeastern Geographer, 1975, 15, 81-92; D. Lord and J. Catau, "School desegregation, busing and suburban migration," Urban Education, 1976, 11, 275-294; T. Pettigrew and R. Green, "School desegregation in large cities: A critique of the Coleman 'white flight' thesis," Harvard Educational Review, 1976, 46, 1-53; T. Pettigrew and R. Green, "A reply to Professor Coleman," Harvard Educational Review, May 1976, 46 (2), 225-233; C. Rossell, "School desegregation and white flight," Political Science Quarterly, 1975-76, 90, 675-695.

8. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 709, 1977.

9. Pettigrew and Green, "School desegregation in large cities...," op. cit., pp. 35, 37.

10. Coleman et al., op. cit., p. 79; and Farley et al., op. cit.

11. Reynolds Farley, Report to the Honorable Judge Paul Egly. Los Angeles County Superior Court, Pomona, Calif., June 1978; p. 35.

12. Farley, "Racial integration in the public schools...," op. cit.,; Farley et al., op. cit., Pettigrew and Green, "School desegregation in large cities...," op. cit.; and Rossell, op. cit.

13. Farley, Report..., op. cit., p. 40.

14. Pettigrew and Green, "School desegregation in large cities...," op. cit., p. 35.

15. E. Cataldo, M. Giles, D. Gatlin, and D. Anthos, "Desegregation and white flight," Integrated Education, 1975, 13, 3-5; and M. Giles, E. Cataldo, and D. Gatlin, "Desegregation and the private school alternative," paper presented at the Symposium on School Desegregation and White Flight, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., August 15, 1975.

16. J. McPartland, "The segregated student in the desegregated schools: Sources of influence on Negro secondary students," Report No. 21, Department of Social Relations, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1968.

17. U.S. Office of Education, Equality of Educational Opportunity. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966, pp. 331, 333; and T. Pettigrew, "The racial integration of the schools." In Pettigrew (ed.), op. cit., pp. 236-37.

18. Ibid.; and T. Pettigrew, Report to the Honorable Judge Paul Egly. Los Angeles County Superior Court, Pomona, Calif., September 1978, both provide a general discussion of these conditions.

19. Bradley v. School Board of the City of Richmond, 338 F. Supp. 67 (E.D. Va.), Rev'd 462 F. 2nd 1058 (4th Cir. 1972), Aff'd (by an equally divided court) sub. nom. School Board of the City of Richmond v. State Board of Education, 412 U.S. 92 (1973); and T. Pettigrew, "A sociological view of the post-Bradley era," Wayne Law Review, March 1975, 21, 813-832.

20. W.L. Taylor, "Metropolitan remedies for public school discrimination: The neglected option." In National Institute of Education, School Desegregation in Metropolitan Areas: Choices and Prospects. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, October 1977, pp. 118-19.

21. Pettigrew, Report..., op. cit.

22. Ibid., pp. 73-74.

23. Ibid., pp. 79-92.

24. These data are for the 1977-78 school year, and were kindly supplied by Jean McGuire and J. Marcus Mitchell of METCO.

25. Note, too, how federal court orders for a central city district led to Wisconsin's funding of largely voluntary metropolitan efforts. This sequence underscores once again the impracticality of the position taken by some observers who would bitterly oppose such court orders and rely upon voluntary schemes entirely.

26. D.J. Conta, "Fiscal incentives and voluntary integration: Wisconsin's effort to integrate public schools," Journal of Education Finance, Winter 1978, 3, 279-296.

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